



S. T. & L. A.

Glowing Tribute Paid to New Trade Unionism by Capitalists and Fakirs.

THE PHILLIPS BILL.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance is used by the Bankrupt "Pure and Simple" Leaders to Scare Capitalist Politicians into Giving them Pensions—No Longer Able to be Kept in Luxury by the Funds of the Rank and File Whom they have Squeezed Dry and Whom New Trade Unionism is Enlightening the Fakirs now Turn Desperately to Congress and Get Left.

On the 20th of last month quite a big cat leaped out of the bag in the United States Senate. Senator Perkins of California was in special charge of the bag, while Senator Hill and other such notorious "friends of labor" in the Senate had charge of some of the strings that held the bag closed. But out came the cat.

Readers of THE PEOPLE have been made acquainted with a certain quaint bill that turned up some time ago in the House. It was fathered by Representative T. W. Phillips of Pennsylvania, whence it was very generally known as the "Phillips bill". Its content was decidedly mysterious—the "Non-partisan Industrial Commission," and suggested bad odors. It provided for the appointment of not less than twelve commissioners, most of whom were to be taken from labor "organizations," each commissioner was to have \$5,000; besides that, there were to be lawyers at \$5,000 each, clerks with an aggregate salary of \$2,400 per annum, besides a number of other pursuivants; the whole scheme contemplated an annual outlay of \$100,000. As if all this were not suspicious enough, the boomers of the bill on the outside of Congress were among the most discredited of the labor fakirs in the land, Jack Hays, Gompers, Sovereign, and such "endorsed" the scheme and pulled the wires for its passage.

So far, this Phillips bill seemed to differ from many others only in degree, the grab was bigger than ever. Nor was this in itself cause for surprise. In proportion as the stranded labor fakir found the collecting of dues difficult, and in proportion as he felt his old style of labor organization sinking, he was bound to become more desperate and make heavier demands upon the capitalist politicians whose dirty work he had been doing. The "Non-partisan Industrial Commission," or "Phillips bill" bore the mark of all this on its face. None could be deceived by it. But that there was behind it all that now appears could not have been guessed. The cat is now out.

The report of the Senate Committee that had the matter in charge, makes an argument in its favor. And what is that argument? It says, take note:

"Labor is fast coming to the belief that its present forms of organization are inadequate to secure the protection and the benefits sought, and that it must use politics as a weapon against the capitalist class. Recent conventions have brought this question prominently forward, and the organization of labor for political and not simply industrial ends is not impossible.

Then it proceeds in these words: "How labor is beginning to view the complex problems presented by its relation to capital may be clearly seen in this extract from a resolution introduced in a labor convention recently held:

Whereupon it proceeds to quote, literally from the platform of the SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE, to wit:

"Whereas the economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things can not be radically changed or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people except through the direct action of the work-

ing people themselves, economically and politically united as a class;

"Therefore, it is as a class, conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step, and sworn to achieve its own emancipation that we the wage-workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle."

Nor yet is this all. The scheming Senatorial "friends of labor" felt that the case was pressing. They urged the passage of the bill on the ground that, if the bill were law, "IT COULD HARDLY BE DOUBTED" that "SUCH RESOLUTIONS WOULD NOT BE ADOPTED"; that IT IS DESIRABLE THAT SUCH DANGEROUS TENDENCIES . . . BE ELIMINATED"; and they could not lay too much stress upon "THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF THE BILL."

In other words:

1. The labor fakirs feel the ground swell rising; their pure and simple organizations going; the rank and file leaving them.

2. Hitherto they have managed to raise a corruption fund mainly out of the rank and file itself. With the dues which they extorted from the workers under all manner of false pretences, and with all manner of false promises, they managed to corrupt the corruptible among them, and to browbeat the others.

3. The bitter experience made by the rank and file is fast drying up the well-springs of that corruption fund; and the education that New Trade Unionism is imparting through the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is turning the funds away from their former and mischievous channel into the new and healthful ones of the class-conscious struggle of the proletariat.

4. In this dilemma the labor fakirs have turned to their paymasters, the capitalist politicians of both the old parties. These politicians had managed to supply the corruption fund of the fakirs in several manners, especially by giving them a few political jobs, and promising them more. But these bribes become less effective in proportion as the fakirs become more class-conscious.

5. With the hope of scaring out of the politicians the largest possible corruption fund they have made the politicians acquainted with the platform of the S. T. & L. A.

We were not present, but we can well imagine the language held to the politicians by the fakirs in this their extremity. It must have been to this effect:

"Gentlemen, the Socialists or New Trade Unionists are gaining upon us from all sides. We have done all we could to beat them, but we are beaten. We cannot stand up against their arguments, and in vain have we sought to fire the ignorant with that fiery enthusiasm that animates the Socialists and that carries everything before it. Our cause is yours. You must come to our assistance. (At this point all the other fakirs present, but not speaking, responded in chorus: "Yes; and P. D. Q. too.") If we are knocked out entirely, the working class can no longer be kept in tow for the capitalist class. They will organize upon a plan that will knock you too out. Their strikes will be conducted in such a way that, even if they are beaten, the unions will rise more powerful than before; they may organize upon a plan that will leave no room for the various issues that we now manage to introduce among them, and that split them into two or more hostile camps; their plan of organization leaves room only for labor issues; it will draw them together, instead of keeping them apart as our plan has done; and, as a result of that, they will on election day vote against you in larger and ever larger numbers until the Socialist Labor Party will have triumphed. This is no idle threat, Gentlemen! Look at these resolutions. They were adopted by a new Trades Union body, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and it did not end there. From New York to California former labor organizations that we had succeeded in keeping tied to the apron-strings of 'pure and simpledom', which you will admit is only another name for 'buffer for capitalism', have followed suit, and have pulled out of our 'A. F. of L.' and 'K. of L.' camp. But things are even worse than they look. Right in among those who, in form, are still with us, there is the devil to pay. The declarations of the S. T. & L. A. have found an echo in places and among workers where we least expected. We are traveling on a volcano. The heaven of New Trades Unionism, injected into the labor movement by this S. T. & L. A., is working everywhere. When we found that we were knocked down by arguments, we tried defamation of character, but that did not work, we got the worst of it. We have played our last cards, and now you must come to our aid, that is to say, to your own. We must have good jobs for many of the 'pure and simple' labor leaders; if they have none they will not be able to continue to work for you, because the 'pure and simple' labor unions are busting wide open. You must give them jobs with good salaries; thus alone can they be kept at work and able to make a stand against the Socialists. Get up a bill that under some guise or other will supply us, your faithful creatures, with pensions. If you don't, you, we, all of us are gone sure; if you do, we will be able to carry on the fight."

(Continued on Page 4.)

MYSTERIES.

A Crusade of Fantastics Who Can Only Confuse People.

A Theosophical Band is Traveling Through the Country and Calling the People to Repentance—A Suggestion to Carnegie and Rockefeller—Misguided Energy.

LINCOLN, Neb., Feb. 28.—Last month at the Conservatory of Music in this city we listened to a lecture on "Spirituality and Fraternity," by Burcham Harding, of London, England, one of Madame Blavatsky's disciples. After speaking for a short time upon the general aims of Theosophy, he proceeded to give, in detail, the object of the crusade lately organized in this country by the American branch of Theosophy, who selected a band of eight to make a tour of the world and lay before the benighted of all-lands the glad tidings of great joy, viz.: That the Mahatmas were ready to come and live among us degenerated as soon as selfishness (which he says is the only sin) is banished from our hearts. He informed the audience this band of hope is composed of the following named persons, who, he said, had made great material sacrifices in taking up this grand work: Mrs. K. A. Tingley, of New York; E. T. Hargrove, a young English lawyer, who surrendered a position of \$25,000 yearly to join the crusade band; Claude Falls Wright and wife; H. T. Patterson, commonly called the "Esoteric Hardware Merchant," of New York City; F. M. Pierce, a prominent business man of New York; Mrs. A. L. Cleather, wife of a colonel in the British Army; and Rev. W. Williams, an English minister and advanced Kabbalistic scholar. He said on the banner of this band of crusaders is inscribed: "Truth, Light and Liberation for Discouraged Humanity."

The programme laid out by the crusaders for their tour around the world is to work and hold meetings almost exclusively among the poor and down-trodden in the cities they may visit;

ability to instill philosophy or ethics into famished bodies, they first proceed to rent a hall and give to all who attend their meetings a good square meal, after which, in the speeches that are made, they IMPRESS upon the minds of their hearers that the cause of their present hard lot and deplorable condition is the result of the sinful life they led in a previous incarnation; and, furthermore, would they better their condition in the world to come they must quit their meanness in this; in fact, banish selfishness and ill from their heart.

Some, he said, might wonder where the funds came from to support this most wonderful crusade, and then volunteered the information that there were no millionaires behind this movement, but that it was supported by "mites" contributed by the members of the Theosophical Society.

At this point I felt like informing the speaker that as soon as the object of the crusade among the poor was generally known by the plutocrats of America, the crusaders would not want fee funds, even though they should put a hundred crusade bands in the field, and erect a hundred temples instead of on to teach esoteric nonsense, as in short time the Pullmans, Rockefellers, Carnegies and Stammers would stand ready to foot all bills with the blood money they had exploited from the same class upon whom the crusaders bestow free blankets and dinners.

I trust the proletariat of this and all other countries have become sufficiently class-conscious to not be taken in by the metaphysical and heological rot dished up by the American band of Theosophical Crusaders.

Mr. Harding informed his hearers the reason why this temple was to be erected in America was this: the spirit of fraternity and humanity was more prevalent here than in the older countries, and said the Americans were more willing to help the down-trodden than were any other nation. Again I would suggest to the honorable gentleman that it would be a most excellent idea for him to interview one of his own countrymen who a few years ago invested their all in Wyoming cattle ranches before he makes any more comparisons between the Americans and their less favored brother across the pond. We are confident we these victims to be the judges of fraternity and humanity. Hades would be selected rather than the American continent as the place for the erection of this temple.

While doubtless most of the people engaged in such movements are actuated by the best of intentions, we cannot comprehend how any intelligent Socialist can be sidetracked by such movements. In our opinion by creed or any movement that tempts the people to lose sight of the real issue of their destitution and misery, viz., private ownership of the instruments of production and distribution, and the ONLY remedy for these evils, i. e., a political revolution that will make this ownership collective, is an enemy to progress and a foe to the human mind, no matter what the talk or phyllophonic practices may be.

J. S. ALEY.

The receipt of a sam^e copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

"PRINCIPLE" NO. 1.

A New Party of Capitalists to be Launched in New York.

The New York Capitalist Class, Fearful that the Workers Can no Longer be Humbugged by Republican or Democratic Principles Start a New Party with Fresh Bird-Lime—Its Principles.

Next November's municipal election in the new Greater New York is casting its shadow before it.

The Greater New York is an empire in itself. Its Mayor will, in point of fact, hold a position next in importance only to that of the President of the United States. It is intended that the revolution that took place here three years ago, when Tammany was overthrown, shall be confirmed next November. While the boys of Tammany and the boys of straight Republican type are pulling the wires for their own old time deviltries, the "Citizens," that is to say the upper capitalists, are getting their heads together to set up an "independent movement," that is to say a movement such as put the "Reform Mayor" in, and by which the capitalist class will be able to break the law against labor without having to pay for it blackmail either to the boys of Crocker or to those of Platt. In pursuit of this plan a new party has already been launched. It calls itself the "Citizens' Union," and it has promulgated its platform. We shall one by one in successive issues, analyse the leading planks of this latest political device to humbug the workers.

The first principle that this platform lays down is "that municipal corporations should be managed upon business principles."

Of the many cant phrases used to deceive this is about the silliest, and, withal the unappetizing for our capitalist plunderers. The articles in THE PEOPLE on what "business" principles signify, and signed "S. L. P." and addressed to the Hon. John W. Wadsworth have covered the ground very fully. In reproducing one of them here, "Principle No. 1" of the Citizens' Union is knocked into splinters as far as its capacity should go to catch labor votes. Here it is:

"Sir:—Before I enter into a consideration of the nature of the business principles upon which it is now proposed to carry on the work of government, permit me to direct your attention to the fact that, whether those principles are good or bad, or whether their application will result in benefit or injury to the country, they are not the principles upon which this Republic was founded and which were commonly relied upon, up to a very late period, to guide the administration of public powers. The proposition to now apply them is, therefore, clearly innovative and plainly un-American."

"I make no apology for using that word 'un-American.' Because a term has been misused is no reason why it should be discarded. It is a good word, and of mighty significance, as will be seen in good time. This land, with its imported system of law, and imported languages and religions, has produced little that is distinctly native, and many things popularly supposed to be thoroughly American are not indigenous at all. There is one thing, however, whose original American character is beyond dispute. I refer to the Declaration of Independence. That paper is an American production containing the ideas of Americans as to government, and expressing them in plain language. Those ideas had never before been promulgated in any other country, and were, in effect, a direct denial of the right of any other form of government to exist on the earth. That document may therefore be confidently used as a criterion by which the American or un-American character of anything relating to government may be determined."

"It is not remarkable that the political leaders and public men of to-day seldom go to the Declaration for inspiration or authority; nor that our so-called better classes, particularly that portion who plume themselves on their descent from the rebels of '76, rarely refer to it, unless, it may be, to sneer at its immortal truths as 'a string of glittering generalities.'"

"John, there is nothing in the Declaration concerning 'business interests'; nor anything about it being our duty to 'run' the government on 'business principles'; nor a word about 'business' or 'business men.' The signers evidently knew nothing about business principles; or, if they did, considered that silence would best express their opinion of them. Nothing in the Declaration will sanction the latter-day proposal to turn the government over to business men and permit them to administer it in accordance with what they choose to call their 'principles.' The proposed scheme is foreign to the Declaration and un-American."

"The fathers of the Republic held it to be self-evident 'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' And said they, 'to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men.' That was the sole function of government—the securing of rights, in the opinion of the signers. They said nothing about anything else. And they declared it to be not only the right, but the duty, of a people to alter or overthrow any government that did not accomplish these ends."

"It is a common notion of political rights that a man may exercise them or not, as he chooses; and of social duties that a man may perform them or not, at his option. This universe, however, is built on no such plan. We should be in a bad way if it were. Security of

rights being absolutely necessary to social organization, whenever a government no longer maintains them it is doomed. The people have no choice whatever in the matter. The people must either overthrow it or die. The notion of a government surviving a people is sufficiently absurd to be rejected by even a bourgeois intellect, dense as it is. All the law, and law-makers, and business, and business men, and religions, and religious teachers, and institutions—social, political and industrial—and armies and navies, and everything else that man or the devil has ever devised, will be unable to maintain for any length of time a government that does not take care of all the rights of all the people. This may be taken as fixed. Quite as fixed as the law of gravitation.

"Only upon one presumption may we reasonably expect the reign of our business men in government to last. If they succeed in establishing and maintaining the inalienable rights mentioned in the Declaration their rule is secure. If they do not, they will go down in short order."

Do you mean to say, John, that our business men really intend to do anything of the kind?

"But first let us come to an understanding as to who are and who are not business men. I know what you say you mean. You say: 'By business men I mean all men who work at honest labor, of the plow, or loom, or in the workshop or mine.'"

"Now, John, honor bright, you mean nothing of the kind, and you know you don't. You speak of this movement of our business men, of the proposition to administer the government upon business principles, as a 'change,' a 'reversal' (of what has hitherto obtained), and of its accomplishment as a 'revolution.' The government has, at least nominally, always been administered in the interest of 'business men' if you include 'all who work at honest labor' in that category, and your proposal would therefore imply no 'change' and no 'revolution' at all. It is necessary to be accurate on this point. Your employer, who puts in his whole time in your shop or store for a dollar a day, while he 'works at honest labor,' is not a business man. A definition, accurate enough for the purposes of these letters, is this: 'A business man is one who manufactures for sale, or sells for profit.' This is the class whom you have in mind when you speak of 'business men'; and this is the class whose 'interests' are now to be considered paramount, and whose 'principles' it is now proposed to apply to government."

"It is useless to enter upon any elaborate inquiry as to the 'principles' of our business men. I shall now state what their 'interests' are, and in so doing shall indicate their principles. Their interests are their principles. I propose to indulge in no theorizing, and will make use of only such facts as are well known to an ordinary intelligent citizen, or such as may be easily verified."

"We have a Pure Food law here in Pennsylvania, and a set of officials to see to its enforcement. When that piece of legislation was being considered, what was the attitude of our business men toward it? They opposed its passage with every means at their command. Business men's organizations met and passed resolutions denouncing it; a lobby was organized and supplied with business men's money to defeat it; our great newspapers thundered their broadsides against the 'paternal iniquity'; and nothing was left undone that our business men might do to create public opinion against it. Nevertheless, somewhat mutilated, the bill became law. Have our business men obeyed it? Not at all. Their interests, it is indisputable, demand its violation; and they violate it. A late report of Food Commissioner Wells shows that nearly every article of food is adulterated. Allspice, baking powder, beef-wine-and-iron (prepared as a tonic), butter, buckwheat flour, candies, catsups, cider, cheese, cinnamon, cloves, coffee, codfish (not codfish at all), cream of tartar, faxesed, fruit butters of all kinds, spices of all kinds, molasses, fruit juices of all kinds, mustard, olive oil, pepper, vinegar, all kinds of extracts and preserves, tea, and, in fact, nearly every article of food consumed is being adulterated."

"The interests of our business men, those engaged in manufacture and sale of food products, are easily seen, therefore. They demand the cheating and the poisoning of the people, and the law, in their furtherance."

What is here said to John Wadsworth the New York workers should say this fall to the business men who run the new "business" party, and the workers should accentuate their condemnation of the fraud by swinging over to the Socialist Labor party.

The adoption of the gold standard by Japan completes her initiation in the whirlpool of capitalism. This will be accompanied with a number of inevitable results.

First—Japs will no longer have to be imported into America for the sake of their cheap labor. Our capitalists will set up all the plants they may want in Japan and enter the world's market by that gate as a No. 1 competitor.

Second—The wages of the wage-earners in America will, tariff or no tariff, plunge down to Japanese level; capitalism is international; the wages in the worst paid country establish the standard of wages in all others, just the same as the wages in the worst paid parts of any one country establish the standard of wages in all other parts of that country.

Third—We look forward to a speedy appearance of a new set of titles for our American heiresses. Hitherto their titles were European—Duchesses, Princesses, Marchionesses, Baronesses, etc.; henceforth we may hear of heiresses N. N. daughter of millionaire B. B., married to Japanese nobles, and we shall have Tycoonesses, Mandarinesses, Nabobesses, Charmesses, etc.—truly a lovely collection.

EXTERMINATION.

The New Plan of Capitalism to Dispose of its Fated Conquerors.

BOURGEOIS BLINDNESS.

An Apostle of the Social System Under Which the Thriftless Riot in Luxury and Pollute the Social Atmosphere Settles the Social Question by Declaring the Working Class "Unfit" and Pronouncing the Death Sentence upon the Poor.

Mr. James Oliphant has an article in the London "Progressive Review" in which he argues in favor of exterminating the poor as the "only way to save society."

A jargon, meant to give his argument a scientific flavor, is resorted to by him to dignify his position. He says, in animal life, "those who are unfit for the struggle of life are allowed to perish," and transferring this principle to mankind, he concludes that "every society necessarily reserves to itself the right to control the lives of those who endanger the common weal, and that the injuries inflicted by the useless members, directly and indirectly, amply justify their being placed in this category." These are the premises from which Mr. Oliphant starts to reach his drastic conclusion.

It will be unnecessary to puncture the premises and show their inapplicability to society. The object of this article is not to expose the scientific hollowness of Mr. Oliphant; its object is to point out the interesting fact that the apostles of capitalism are themselves enacting the statutes by which they will be indicted, and are themselves establishing the moral standard by which they will be tried. Granting Mr. Oliphant's premises that every society necessarily reserves the right to control the lives of those who endanger the common weal, and that those only are entitled to existence who are fit for the struggle, he has pronounced the death sentence of the very class in whose behalf he speaks.

Mr. Oliphant and his class may not think so, we can't blame them, but their opinion cuts very little figure in the case; the unfit class to-day is the capitalist class, and it is the class that endangers the common weal. A Clara Ward, and now Mrs. Rigo, who, as Princess of Chimay, has polluted the moral atmosphere of the world, and who was able to do this mischief by means of the wealth produced by American workingmen; a Conuelo Vanderbilt, who now struts over the stage of royalty in England by means of the wealth which she does not produce, but robs the American wage workers of; an Anna Gould, who, with the wealth extorted from workers in America, lives in Oriental splendor in France; a Bradley Martin, who gives a ball of regal splendor with property for which neither she nor her husband did the slightest work; a Horatio Harper, who, together with the other Seelye diners, know not what to do with the piles of wealth they have wrongfully squeezed out of the proletariat, the Sages, Rockefellers, Havemeyers and innumerable such, who live a life of idleness and immorality, putting the example of successful wrong, these and the rest of the capitalist class are the class that, utterly unfit to live and injurious to society, society must and will eventually take in-hand and render harmless.

On the other hand, the class that does all the nation's thinking and sweating, that produces all the nation's wealth, and without which the nation could not survive, that is the class fittest to live, and the only one that deserves to enjoy life.

We are at the threshold of one of those epochs where events turn upon the settling of that very question— which is the class fit for civilization, which is the class that endangers society. At each such epoch, the ruling class promptly decided in its own favor, as Mr. Oliphant now does for the idle, vicious and harmful capitalist class. But history never did, nor never will, be turned aside from its course by this false judgment. It did not when the feudal system of England was cast aside; it did not when the British Parliament was sent by the board in this country; it did not when the besotted nobility of France was thrust aside; it did not when the Copperhead Bourbons in this country were squelched; and it will not in the pending revolution. The extermination of the poor is a job infinitely above the power of the capitalist class. It is equivalent with sending civilization back; and that no class has ever yet been able to accomplish. The badge of poverty is the badge of nobility at the present social cycle, and poverty to-day is the fountain-head from which will flow the torrent that must take society to the next step forward—the Socialist Commonwealth, by wiping out the class that produces poverty.

Mr. Oliphant's article is one of the signs of the times. In the not distant future it will read along side of the declarations made by the Southern Copperheads upon "the unfitness of the North," along side of the Tory declarations upon the "unfitness of the American rebels," along side the declarations of the court party in France upon the "unfitness of the 'rabble,'" and so on; and it will take its place among them as an illustration of the intellectual imbecility of classes that have been marked Ichabod.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1885 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1890.....	15,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	31,157
In 1894.....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,583

The palaces are brilliant while the huts are gloom. Princes deck themselves in rich raiment; they carry treacherous swords; they gorge themselves with exquisite viands; they smother themselves in wealth. I call all this the glorification of theft.

Lao-Tseu.

AVAILABLE FOR OTHER PURPOSES, ETC.

The \$100,000 fan given by Howard Gould to his bride serves an even better purpose than to illustrate the existing contrasts between luxury and misery.

Those who observe the mechanism of Capital superficially, declare off hand that, while it is true that concentration of industry displaces workmen, yet, they claim, the evil is only temporary, because, to use their own words:

"The discharged men become available for other useful purposes."

Last week we showed the falseness of the theory that the evil of being displaced is any longer temporary, and also its cruelty. To-day we desire to call attention to the nature of those "other and useful purposes" to which those among the workers are forced to turn, who, being displaced by concentration, are lucky enough to get some other job.

The account of Gould's \$100,000 fan tells how "each stick employed a carver a month; that polishers and bleachers worked arduously at it; and that many other mechanics, who would otherwise have starved, got work thereat."

Such are the "useful purposes" for which labor, rendered superfluous in the production of the necessities of life, becomes available.

With the congestion of wealth in the hands of a few, comes the craving for ostentatious superfluities that, so far from being useful, are useless and often degrading. Neither art, nor ethics, nor yet science is promoted by \$100,000 fans; and yet this superfluity is among the most innocent. The lackeys, flunkies, footmen, and long retinue of menials whom snobocracy loves to sport in evidence of its towering wealth, are certainly "other," but can not be termed "useful" purposes for which the displaced workers become available; the concubines, which, like veritable harlots, the Capitalist "pillars of morality" love to sport with, are certainly "other," but surely not "useful" purposes for which the displaced working girls become available; the dancers of immoral dances at Seelye Dinners, who delight the hearts of our Capitalist rulers, are assuredly "other" but not "useful" purposes for which displaced working women become available; the spies and body guards with which our Capitalists surround themselves, and innumerable such occupations, denote the character of the purposes for which human beings, deprived more and more of the opportunity to labor honorably, are forced to stoop for the sake of existence.

Once Capitalism has reached its present stage of development, it becomes an unmitigated nuisance, to the abatement of which every decent man should devote his full powers.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

The "Arbitration Treaty," like a strong fire under a big pot of dirty water, has boiled to the surface all the lightweights whose mission in life is to serve as make-weights for the ruling class. These light-weight make-weights are just now hustling to get up mass meetings to urge the "peaceful settlement of international disputes."

When two competing Capitalist concerns, inside of one and the same country, decide upon war or peace between themselves they do not proceed upon any abstract principle of ethics, religion or morality. War, that is to say, a more fierce cut-throat competition, or peace, that is to say, a pooling of their joint interests, is decided on upon the matter of fact principle of dollars and cents. If both can see more money in "peace," they fall in each others' arms and become partners, fellow stockholders or the like; if both, or either can see more money in "war," the competitive hostilities are resumed with ardor. As with individual Capitalist concerns, so with Capitalist nations.

The Governments of Capitalist nations are essentially Executive Com-

tees of politically successful Capital interests in each. Each is looking out to sell its own goods, and smoke the other or all others out of the world's markets. These Capitalist Governments are nothing but "business" heads. The principles that guide individual business heads, guide also national ones. If a dispute arises—and all their disputes can be boiled down to the level of the disputes that arise between individual competitors—these Governments, whatever their pretences, decide upon war or peace according as war or peace may bring more money.

But Capitalism, united though it is against labor, is still very much of a house divided against itself. All the Capitalist interests of any one country never are at any one time in control of the political powers, except upon labor questions; on such questions they are all "in it." Gold bugs and silver bugs, protectionists and free traders, prohibitionists and free rumists—all these warring Capitalist interests will ever be found united to administer the rifle diet to the working class. Upon their own specialized interests the Capitalists of any country are split up. Hence it will happen that some times one set and then another is in political power, and the set that happens to be on top politically runs things to suit its own business interests. The effect of this upon the attitude of each of these sets on the question of international peace or war is interesting to the watchful, though it upsets the light-weights.

If, at a given time, the Capitalist interests that happen to be in political power see more dollars and cents in war with their foreign competitors, they invoke "patriotism" to their aid; Brutus and Patrick Henry pale before them; "the flag" becomes their symbol and the gun their weapon. Simultaneously, however, with such outbursts of "patriotism," one will regularly perceive a counter outburst of sanctimoniousness. The Capitalist interests, that are not in political power and that can see more dollars and cents in peace, are seized with a religious and moral spasm, they will hold mass meetings and otherwise pronounce for "humanity." Yet the farce does not end there. By a turn of the industrial wheel, the very Capitalist interests that just before saw more money in peace, may find that their profits now lie on the side of war. Forthwith the two sets change sides; the former "patriots" become saints, the former "saints" turn "patriots." At each turn, the light-weight make-weights fill the halls, and do the scurrying, and like the file on the wheel imagine they are doing great things, whereas, as a matter of fact, they are being used alternately and played for suckers.

The class-conscious proletariat wants peace, but wants it as intelligent men. It knows peace is an impossibility while Capitalism lasts, and that is the Upas tree at the very root of which it feels its blows with the axe of the Socialist Labor party ballot.

OUR NEW BARONESS.

We take pleasure in introducing to the proletariat of America in general and to those of Detroit, Mich., in particular, the new titled heiress of the country, who will help to illustrate the juiciness of the American worker, the internationality of the leech class, and the oneness of the class of the proletariat—the Baroness von Ketteler. Incidentally she will help to illustrate other points.

The Baroness von Ketteler was, down to last February 23, Miss Mathilda Cass Ledyard. She is of Detroit, the identical city from which hails that other American heiress, Clara Ward, now notoriously known as the Princess of Chimay. The new Baroness is the daughter of Henry B. Ledyard, President of the Michigan Central Railroad. On the 23d of last month, Mathilda married the German Baron V. August von Ketteler and will retire with him to the Imperial precincts of the German Empire, where she will find other American heiresses basking in the Imperial Sun, and one of them setting the pace for all the others as courtesan of His Majesty, by the Grace of God Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia.

The American workmen must be indeed juicy mutton chops. To think of a German Baron traveling all the way over here to acquire by wedlock the privilege to live on the American workers certainly is a compliment to the juiciness of our workers, whatever it may be to their intellect.

On the other hand, the Baron is not a pauper exactly. By marrying him Mathilda gets in return an opportunity to season her American meat with German sweat. Thus the two will patriotically exchange favors—she by letting her taste the life-blood of her American wage slaves, he by letting her smack her lips with the sweat of his German ditto, ditto.

While this precious couple will, in the idleness of their class, prove the soundness of Capitalist economics that idleness is the source of all wealth, or that wealth is the reward of idleness, the European and the American proletariat are offered a fresh opportunity to learn that their exploiters are truly international, that they are divided only in appearance by national boundaries, but are in fact mutual allies and

"pals" in the international game of holding up the working class and rifling its pockets, and that, consequently, the workers of all countries have but one enemy, to wit, the Capitalist class.

We wish the Baroness Mathilda von Ketteler success in helping to teach this lesson, and wish our fellow proletarians progress in the learning of it.

The following episode in metropolitan life should not be passed over lightly: A few days ago the employees of Solomon Anderson, the florist in the Hoffman House, noticed at 5 p. m. a short, thick-set man stop in front of the place.

He gazed for a moment at the magnificent floral display in the window and then shook his head dolefully. Passers-by heard him say: "Extravagance, extravagance! A wilful, wanton waste—and what for? To satisfy the whim of some pampered society pet. Some ball, some waste of money, while thousands are starving. Some dance while others die."

Then he drew a brick from an inside pocket and sent it crashing through the florist's plate-glass window. Then he calmly folded his arms and waited.

Some of the employees rushed at him. "What have you done?" demanded one of them.

"You have seen," he replied; "now have me arrested."

Then Policeman Schlottman was called and arrested him.

"What did you break the window for?" asked the Magistrate.

"To call attention to my starving condition and the condition of the starving thousands who are forced to depend on newspaper charity," he responded. He was held for trial.

The man's name is John Dolan.

The immigration restriction bill has been vetoed. The various stages of this bill—its birth, growth and death—have afforded pleasure. It is expected profit also, to the gentlemen who handled it from its cradle to its grave. Those who spoke for it will now go before the workers claiming they are entitled to their support for having wished to protect "American labor from European pauper labor;" those who killed the bill will address themselves to the capitalists with the argument that by their killing the bill they have ensured the re-election of its sponsors; and both sets of frauds will meet and have a good laugh at the farce.

But the day is at hand when the laughter of these gentry will be broken in upon by the thunderbolt of Socialism; then they will laugh at the other end of the mouth, and the frolic will be the people's.

Labor Fakir Bettenhausen, of Lynn, Mass., is rubbing his shins.

After virtually a four weeks' wrangling, the Central Labor Union of that city, having resolved to hold a mass meeting on the Labor Question on the 13th instant, decided to invite Comrade Daniel De Leon, of New York, as one of the speakers. The C. L. U. realizes that there is an all around breakdown of old lines, and that the Labor movement in America is approaching a new era. It wisely considered that the only way to decide who and what is right is to hear all sides. Besides Mr. Gompers, who represents the old style union idea, the C. L. U. made up its mind to hear the cause of Labor from the new standpoint. There is nothing the moral and intellectual bankrupts of "pure and simple" fear more than free speech and light. Accordingly, they fought with might and main to prevent our comrade from being invited, and Fakir, Bettenhausen was the most vehement opponent. He was beaten; and in his fury withdrew from the C. L. U.

This same Bettenhausen was at the Detroit Cigar-makers' Convention, and figured among those who schemed the campaign of "lapses" against the old members.

More than three years ago, when the fakir leaders of the cigar-makers were in convention in Milwaukee, and began to realize that the tide was setting against them, we informed them that the rats were drowning. Mr. Bettenhausen and his fellows will henceforth with increasing frequency have occasion to think of that prophecy.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

The Syracuse, N. Y., "Socialist" joins the large majority of class-conscious papers of the proletariat by pronouncing uncompromisingly against the bourgeois "Glasgow Plan." It says:

"The so-called Socialism embodied in the 'Glasgow Plan' is nothing but a move on the part of the rapidly disappearing middle class to save themselves. Our business men see that a saving of expense to him can be made if the government or city owned and operated the electric light, telegraph, etc., instead of private individuals. With the Socialist, however, collective ownership is but a means to an end—the abolition of the wage system. If the assumption by the government or municipality of any service performed by private individuals at present is only for the purpose of benefiting the middle class, and does not give the laborers employed in that service the full return for their labor, the Socialist is against it. Municipal ownership in Glasgow has enabled that city to make a profit off the work of the laborers and turned the money earned by them into the treasury to lighten the taxes of the property holding class."

The following notice appears in the Capitalist "Evening Post":

"The Charity Organization Society appeals for \$100 towards the support of an estimable woman of seventy years, who has been a hard-working, self-respecting, and self-supporting woman all her life. Now, through a recent severe accident her working days are over, and the society makes this appeal on her behalf, as she has no relatives to assist her. Any money sent to the society for this purpose at the United Charities building, No. 105 East Twenty-second street, will be promptly and publicly acknowledged."

The humor connected with this sad picture of modern daily life is that the "Evening Post" tramps along its weary way unconscious of the fact that those few lines give the lie to the whole of its painfully constructed theory of poverty. Why should "an estimable woman of

seventy years, self-respecting, and self-supporting all her life," at this her advanced age be in need, unless she was plundered all her life of the bulk of the wealth her industry had, directly or indirectly, produced?

In the Johnston, R. L., "Beacon" there is an article on "Municipal Ownership" by "The Agitator" that brings additional confirmation to the belief that, so far from a majority of the comrades being ready to play cat's paws for the bourgeois or having turned bourgeois themselves, they stand firm upon the party principles and scientific economics. It says:

"The growing cry for municipal ownership of public franchises, like the growth of trusts and monopolies, is the natural result of the economic evolution that has been going on for the past half century. While undoubtedly the movement is a sign of the times showing the trend of events to be towards Socialism, many earnest Socialists are completely deceived as to its source and true import."

"Great benefits are to be derived from municipal ownership, but the benefits will no more relieve the working class from economic oppression, than do the great benefits derived from the concentration and trustification of industry. The interests of the producing class are directly opposed to those of all other classes in society. What will benefit one class in society will not benefit the other."

"The movement for municipal ownership is essentially a middle class movement. It is an attempt on the part of the small Capitalist, manufacturer, shopkeeper, and landlord to escape, what is to them, the oppressive burden of municipal taxation. The small Capitalist who is in direct competition with his larger and more powerful rival finds the annual payment of his municipal tax a hardship and a burden. His capital being small, every cent of his meagre income must be utilized to its fullest extent in order to keep his head above water."

"The lessening or the entire abolition of the direct municipal tax would for a time be a great relief to the struggling small Capitalist. But it would be only for a time. The middle class is doomed to destruction. Nothing can save the small Capitalist from being devoured by his larger rival, the Trust. But before the small Capitalist class goes under it will make every effort to retain its foothold. Any scheme, no matter of what nature, that will afford the slightest relief will be exploited to its fullest extent. The municipalization of public franchises is one of these schemes. It is one of the straws at which the drowning class is widely clutching. But while it will be of no avail in saving the middle class from destruction, yet at the same time it will be a means of furthering the onward march of Socialism. Just as the formation of a Trust means a step nearer the goal, so will municipalization of public franchises mean a step nearer Socialism. But it must be distinctly understood that this municipalization does not take the public franchise out of the hands of the capitalist class. It still remains a Capitalist undertaking. It is still withheld from its rightful owners and beneficiaries."

"Municipal ownership under Capitalist government is distinct from municipal ownership under Socialism. In that under Capitalism it is a profit making scheme for the benefit of a particular class, while under Socialism public franchises would be operated for the use of all, and not for the benefit of a few."

THE AGITATOR.

CORRECT!

Either Wholly a Socialist or None.

Canden, N. J., Section of the S. L. P., at whose instance the wise provisions were inserted in the party resolutions barring out Glasgow plans of municipal or national ownership, makes this declaration in support of THE PEOPLE'S attitude:

"It never occurred to us, the proposer of the clauses in question, to expect of the S. L. P. that it throw difficulty in the way of the nationalization or municipalization of the means of transportation, etc. None better than we knew that such a thing would be injurious to the party. Nevertheless we are firm in the conviction that our party is bound to make clear its democratic position on this question. We are either localists or we are none."

"It goes without saying, that wherever of party has not yet obtained control, and nationalism is put through by the capitalist parties, the capitalist class simply pokes at our platform, and arranges the management of such concerns in such manner as may please the ruling party. But the management of such concerns is by no means a Socialist one; in most cases it is not even State Socialism; but it is essentially State Capitalism. In such concerns the workers are exploited as much as, if not more than in private concerns. Indeed, the danger exists that such measures may be taken for the express purpose of throwing discredit upon Socialism in the eye of the public. In such cases our platform will show to the people that our party has nothing to do with such a caricature of Socialism. It is in its platform that the fundamental difference is drawn between Socialist public ownership and the fraudulent substitute that capitalism contemplates."

IN THE NEW TIME.

[Written from: Proletariat of all Nations; and to be sung the original Air of "The Harp that thro' Tara's Halls."—BY SYRUS EFFRON.]

The flag that hangs on Socialist's walls,
In glories and splendors red,
Now waves proudly over halls
Of Competition's dead;
So sleeps the curse of former days,
So war and o'er,
And honest arts that Profit crazed,
Now feel at hand no more.

And now to us and lassies bright
The voice of Labor swells,
And rolls Truphant thro' the night,
Round hill and wooded dell;
Thus Freedom rules the passing hours,
Her smile will give,
And banners fly from turret towers
Remind us by she lives.

MCKINLEY IS IN.

Yet Poverty and Hard Times Continue and Must Continue.

ALBANY, N. Y., March 1.—Before this reaches the readers of THE PEOPLE McKinley will have been inaugurated and the new administration begun. Perhaps a word or two at this time to the workmen who voted for McKinley will not be out of place.

One of the most frequent arguments advanced by workmen why they should vote for McKinley and the Republican party was: "We had better times under former Republican administrations than now." They hastily jumped to the conclusion that a return of the Republican party to power meant a return of the "prosperity" enjoyed under former Republican administrations. That a little careful study and reflection ought to convince these poor deluded mortals of their error is obvious.

In the first place they must have closed their eyes to the fact that the concentrations of capital and the improvements in labor displacing machinery, which have taken place, have rendered a return to anything approaching those former conditions simply impossible. The worker of to-day is compelled to compete with a more formidable rival than ever before, in the improved machinery, and no amount of tariff tinkering can lessen his burdens.

Furthermore, industrial enterprises have sprung up in heretofore undeveloped countries, which were formerly large consumers of our products, and to-day are not only producing commodities for themselves, which they formerly purchased from us, but are actually sending their goods here to compete with us at home. The result is that, not only are our markets curtailed abroad, but they are so at home as well. A decreasing market brings with it a decreased demand for labor and a decreased demand for labor means an increasing of the army of unemployed, intensifying competition among the workers, and finally a decrease of wages and an increase of poverty, misery and degradation.

In view of these facts, let me ask those who voted for McKinley: "Do you imagine that a Republican administration can roll back the wheels of industrial and commercial development and thus replace you in the conditions of former times? If you can then you are right in your argument, for in no other way can the miracle be accomplished. If otherwise, what improvement can you possibly hope for, or can you expect from an administration, which positively ignores these vital questions upon which your well being, nay your very existence depends?"

Before the next four years have passed, the workers will have learned by sad experience that their expectations are doomed to disappointment. They will also have learned that neither McKinley nor any other upholder of capitalism can help them, or would they if they could. The only possible way in which the workmen can be improved in their conditions is by uniting into a class conscious political party which stands for the complete emancipation of the wage earners from the slavery in which they find themselves, for the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth in which the worker will receive the full benefit of his labor, and the means of self-employment will be denied to no one.

Such a party is the Socialist Labor party.

J. E. A.

MINNEAPOLIS NEWS.

Work of Militant Socialists—Interest of the Public.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Feb. 25.—On February 21st, Branch II, of Section Minneapolis, S. L. P., held a large and enthusiastic mass meeting at Dania Hall. The pit and the gallery were filled, there being eight hundred people in the hall. Comrade Thomas H. Lucas spoke on "Charity." He pointed out how charity was used as a mantle to cover up a multitude of crimes. It was, as Lafargue says, "robbing wholesale and giving back retail." The speaker exposed a host of local "philanthropists" who, he declared, gave five-cent loaves to the poor because that was cheaper than burying the victims of capitalism. Socialism alone could afford relief to the workmen and settle finally the labor question. The cheers which followed the lecture were encouraging to class-conscious Socialists.

Comrade Daniel De Lury continued the discussion and showed the folly of patch-work reforms. At the close of the meeting seven new members joined Branch II.

At the same time, in another part of the city, a rousing meeting was held by Branch IV, at G. A. R. Hall. Comrade Arthur Gierstein delivered an able address on "The Development of Machine Production." The discussion was continued by comrades Wm. N. Feltus, A. H. Lee, Herbert T. Shaw, Dr. A. Hirschfeld and G. B. Leonard. A single-taxer attempted to demolish the Socialists, but he was so completely squelched that, exasperated, he could simply exclaim that he didn't believe Socialism could help the workman. He was quickly informed that "belief or unbelief might send a man to heaven or hell, but did not cut much figure in economics." Branch IV has gained twenty-one new members since New Year's.

Next Sunday two large meetings will be held by Branches I and III. Our comrades are pushing THE PEOPLE, for every comrade who reads this paper becomes a class-conscious, uncompromising, militant Socialist.

ORGANIZER.

Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged.....	\$1,543 40
Feb. 24—Nathan S. Reichen-	
thal, Washington, D. C.....	25
Feb. 25—Section Lawrence	
(Jewish) donation.....	8 85
Feb. 26—J. Suffrin.....	25

Total.....\$1,552 75

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—I am a Socialist.

Uncle Sam (mockingly)—But—

B. J.—Yes, "But"—But I am an American Socialist; none of your imported Socialists. I am a Socialist who believes in the domestic article. I am an American Socialist, I am, and believe in American Socialism.

U. S.—That's very fine. Now give me some idea of how that article looks.

B. J.—Populism is 'American Socialism.

U. S.—Then what Populism says is American Socialism?

B. J.—Never mind what people SAY; a good many things may be SAID by Populists; they are to be judged by what they DO.

U. S.—That suits me. Populism is in power in Kansas; it has the Executive and both branches of the Legislature and a majority of the Supreme Court in the State. There it surely has a chance to show what it is—

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And what it does there is American Socialism?

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—Kansas Populism made it a penal offence for the State Printer to introduce the type setting machine. In other words it fights the machine. Is that your American Socialism?

B. J.—Isn't that Socialism? Don't Socialists fight the machine?

U. S.—No; that is not Socialism; it is middle class peanut politics. Socialism does not fight the machine.

B. J.—Why, you are mistaken.

U. S.—I am not. Socialism loves the machine; the more machinery and the more perfect the machine, all the better is man able to produce wealth and all the less toil is needed to have all that man wants.

B. J.—If that's so, what are you Socialists kicking about? You ought to be the happiest men out. We are having a flood of machinery. According to you, if that is Socialism, everybody ought to be now wealthy with but a few hours work. I knew that your imported Socialism was no good. Despite all the machinery our people are suffering I believe in American Socialism. Every genuine American, whose ancestors like mine came over on the Plymouth Rock and took possession of the Indian village of May Flower will repudiate your un-American Socialism. American Socialism fights the machine. The machine is the cause of poverty.

U. S.—And you have proved two things:

First, that, like all blusterers who parade their nativity, you are an ignoramus on the history of the country—

B. J.—What!

U. S.—Yes; a howling ignoramus. You got it all mixed up on the Pilgrim Rock and May Flower affair.

Second, that you have no knowledge whatever of economics.

B. J.—And me a Plymouth Rock man!

U. S.—The trouble is not with the machine, it is with the way it is owned. Destroy the machine and you put us all back a hundred years, back to the time when, with the best of will, sufficient wealth was not producible to insure an abundance to all. The existence of the machine makes abundance for all POSSIBLE. The reason that abundance for all is not a FACT is that the machine is owned by a private class who allow its use only for private profit. It is for that reason that, despite the machine, people who work or would want to work go hungry and cold, while people who don't work and don't want to work enjoy luxury.

B. J.—And what do you propose?

U. S.—Before that problem, presented by the machine, the people divide into three classes:

One class, which owns the machine, wants to keep it for itself, and in that way continue to live without work, while the masses famish. That class is the Capitalist class.

Another class, which owns some little machinery, but not as good as the Capitalist class, and therefore can't compete with the capitalists, wants to smash the machinery of the Capitalist class. In other words, it is itself a Capitalist class at heart; it wants to skin the poor fellow who has no capital whatever, but it doesn't want to be crushed by the upper fellow; it wants to preserve that feature of the machine which is the cause of popular poverty, to wit, private ownership, but it wants to fight machinery; it therefore wants to set civilization back. That class is the middle class, and what it wants is POPULISM.

The third class, which is the overwhelming one in numbers and does really all the work of the country, owns no machinery whatever; for that reason it is kept in poverty, plucked by the other two. That class is the working class. It has every interest in the introduction and improvement of machinery because that makes an abundance possible, and possible also a reduction of toil; but in order that the abundance, which the machine makes possible, shall fall to the toilers and not to the loafers, the working class want to own the machine, and what it is after is, not the destruction of the machine, but its public ownership—that is SOCIALISM.

B. J.—I declare!

U. S.—When you call Populism "American Socialism" it is just as if you called COWBOYISM "American Freedom." Other countries also want through the cowboy period; in America, the cowboy period is over, the period came later, but there was nothing American about it any more than measles are peculiar to your children, most children get them. So your Populism; it is nothing but the death rattle of the middle class in America.

SECOND BOUT.

A Socialist Knocks out E. M. Grout Once More.

The large hall of the Brooklyn Philosophical Society was crowded to overflowing last Sunday to hear E. M. Grout speak on "Municipal Ownership." The Socialists of Brooklyn turned out in large numbers to hear the apostle of the Brooklyn ring Democracy preach the—for him—new doctrine of municipal ownership. His speech was a long drawn out one, showing mainly that the people would probably have a 3 cent fare under public ownership. That there would be no strikes, that gas would be cheaper, that they ordered things much better in those cities of Europe where public ownership prevailed. These, with some other mentioned later on, were the main points of his speech. He was generously applauded by the bourgeoisie present, and sat down with a happy smile on his face, looking as if the nomination for Mayor of the Greater New York was already his.

Time was, and not so long ago either, when politicians and reformers of all sorts, shapes and sizes, could come before the Brooklyn people and sell them gold bricks. "Everything went from Populism to latterday socialism. But things have changed. The educated class-conscious proletariat now samples analyses and dissects the goods before buying; and we betide the seller if they are not genuine. Such must have been Mr. Grout's thoughts when he saw a young Socialist mount the platform at the conclusion of his address and pour hot shot into him in a manner that was contrary to all established customs."

The following is the Socialist's speech. It was rapturously applauded, not alone by the Socialists but by that ever increasing band of people who are commencing to see the cat.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Grout, Ladies and Gentlemen—In the short time allowed to me I cannot do more than take up a few of the points raised by Mr. Grout. Those few points I will elaborate on sufficiently to show you the cat bono (or, What good will it do?) of Mr. Grout's proposition. His position, briefly stated, is as follows:

First—That the street railroads, etc., have been secured in the main through bribery.

Second—That they are "natural monopolies."

Third—That the remedy for natural monopolies, i. e., monopolies that in their nature do not admit of competition, is that they should be owned by the people collectively.

His first point, that the Brooklyn franchises have been secured through fraudulent means is true. But, why does Mr. Grout stop there? What about the New York Central Railroad franchises? What about the Erie Railroad franchise? What about the franchises of every railroad without exception in the United States? The same remark applies to the franchises for gas and electricity—all secured through fraud and bribery. The trail of the lobbyist extends from New York to Frisco—one great, grand steal. If we are to nationalize those monopolies whose franchises have been secured through fraud, then we will have dug a very large portion of the grave of the capitalist class.

The second point—"That the railroads, etc., are natural monopolies." This, with the third point, that "the remedy for natural monopolies is public ownership," I will answer together. When in the evolution of trade a number of businesses are consolidated into one, when, in short, we have a trust, there we have a natural monopoly. The development of the trust is as natural as the growth of a tree. All scientific political economists agree on this; ergo—The Sugar Trust is a natural monopoly; the Western Union is a natural monopoly; the Standard Oil Company is a natural monopoly; so with the Coal Trust, Rubber, Cracker, Salt, etc., etc. All are natural monopolies.

Now you see the position Mr. Grout has placed himself in if he follows out to its logical conclusion his own statement that "the remedy for natural monopolies, i. e., monopolies that in their nature do not admit of competition, should be owned collectively by the people. That there is no escape from this conclusion will be admitted by every man present, I believe. (Tremendous applause.)

So much for the points raised by Mr. Grout to-day.

Before I conclude I desire to repeat a question I asked Mr. Grout on a former occasion.

A question that goes to the very root of the matter, and, sir, a question that will be hurled at you and your class by the Socialist speakers at hundreds of meetings in the ensuing campaign. Before doing so, I wish to lay down one or two premises on which to base my question. They are as follows: The electric light, apart from its public function of lighting the streets, is the light of the rich, as it is only in the parlors of Columbia Heights, the Park Slope and the millionaire residence districts that we find it. Gas is the light of the middle class and fairly well to do. It is in flats renting from \$18 to \$50 a month that gas is burned. Oil is the light of the very poor. The longshoreman, the porter, the helper, the washwoman, the struggling widow. Now, my question is: Are you in favor of the public ownership of the most damnable monopoly of them all—The Standard Oil Company? (Applause.)

I desire to anticipate Mr. Grout's reply, viz.: "That this is purely a local question, and that the Standard Oil Company is a national institution; therefore we cannot discuss it."

Is it not a fact, sir, that W. C. Whitney has been working for the past three years to monopolize the traction interests of the country?

Are not the Standard Oil and the Gas magnates working now for the same thing?

Therefore is it not reasonable to assume that inasmuch as you say it will be about five years before you can get your project in working order, that these local monopolies will have become national monopolies? Therefore your whole scheme goes, by the board. (Applause.)

For those reasons, ladies and gentlemen, I claim that Mr. Grout's position is impracticable, therefore useless. That the party Mr. Grout is speaking for is controlled by the franchise-grabbing class. That the moral of it

all is that it is only by the revolutionary ballot of the Socialist Labor party, welded by the class-conscious proletariat, that a downfall of the monopolistic class can be achieved. That ballot that will lead the people along the road of legislation to the gates of civilization—to the Co-operative Commonwealth. (Loud applause, while Mr. Grout shifts about uneasily in his chair.) T. A. H.

OPEN LETTERS.

Addressed to the United States "Patriots."—No. 3. To the Doctor.

Dear Mr. Doctor—Your occupation is one which gives you unbounded scope for the exercise of true patriotism. The earth on which we live is so overrun with human suffering and disease that true doctors and radical remedies are the greatest needs of our time. The primary causes of about nine-tenths of all the suffering on earth are the unnatural conditions and occupations and the physically and mentally disturbed state into which men, women and children have to scramble and crowd themselves in order to earn, beg or steal enough to supply their bodily wants under the present capitalist system of production and distribution.

The whole of what we call civilized society is suffering from a very acute attack of social jim-jams, brought on by the unrestricted individualistic scuffle for the possession of wealth; and we need a big dose of very strong social alternative immediately.

Our present social system is called "individualism" as a respectable bluff for the cat and dog scramble for wealth that it has led us into. But individualism likes company, hence it separates itself out into classes of persons living under somewhat similar circumstances. Now, my dear doctor, the most striking characteristic of this social disorder is that, no matter which class you may belong to, when you come in contact with the class above or below you, there is a very severe class-conscious chill all along your spinal column. This reacts on your nervous centers, and sets in motion certain latent psychological qualities, such as jealousy, envy, suspicion and hate. These emotions have a very striking effect on men's visible actions towards one another. They are, in fact, the protoplasm from which spring oppression, fraud, lying, deceit, legal squabbles, war, slaughter and Anarchy supreme.

But we are glad to say that the case has been thoroughly diagnosed by Mr. Karl Marx, and many other honest thinkers, and the remedy is known. The old party politicians, with their clap-trap social palliatives, such as high-tariff, low-tariff, and no tariff at all, Gold-bug, silver-bug, and double-bug and all, are getting to the end of their rope, and we are going to have a real radical medicine that will thoroughly cleanse our social system and reorganize it on scientific principles.

The new medicine, doctor, is Socialism. If you are a true patriot, and really desire to see the fundamental causes of disease and suffering removed from our social system, begin at once to apply it. Of course you, being a doctor, are aware that we are simply gregarious vertebrate mammals, evolved from some advanced family of troglodytes, and that the standard of our intelligence depends upon the size, shape and number and depth of creases in our cerebrum. Socialism is an advanced remedy, and society must be educated up to taking it. Each cerebrum must be developed in the right direction. Up to the present time most of them have been developed low-sidedly, and in the direction of extreme greed, selfishness and injustice to others. It will take an awful lot of tugging, pulling, persuasion and explanation to get some of these cerebrum into the right shape and size to see that Socialism simply means the end of animalism, and the beginning of scientific systems and methods of social organization. It is the point, in the process of evolution, from where humanity, in its true sense, will begin to evolve on rational principles.

Just at present the most important thing for us to do is to engage in a ceaseless campaign of education among the oppressed and exploited toiling masses. Show them that they have within their reach the power to raise themselves to a higher level of existence by simply touching the button in the right place on election day and displacing the quack politicians with their irritating nostrums and delusive palliatives; and putting in their places those who understand the nature of the malady, and will have the pluck to apply the remedy.

So now, dear doctor, I will not say any more at present, as I would much rather have you remember a little that is truth than to read a whole volume that is twaddle, and only wish you to remember that.

The remedy for every ill

Is work for all collectively.

Instead of for the few.

PHILIP JACKSON.

Rochester, N. Y.

Books that Ought to Be Read.

The following books can be obtained by mailing price and one-tenth of price for postage, to the New York Labor News Co., 64 East Fourth Street, New York City. Send for full catalogue.

"The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1844."—By

Fredrick Engels.....\$1 25

"Capital."—By Karl Marx. An exhaustive dissertation on political economy from the most advanced and scientific standpoint. Bound. 2 00

Paper.....1 20

"Co-operative Commonwealth."—

An Exposition of Socialism, by

Laurence Gronlund.....50

"Socialism vs. Tax Reform."—By

Laurence Gronlund.....10

"Socialism."—By William Scholl

McClure.....10

"A Traveler from Altruria."—By

William Dean Howells. Cloth.....1 50

"Merrie England."—By Robert

Blatchford.....10

"The Fabian Essays."—By H. G.

Wells. Paper.....25

"French and German Socialism."—

By Prof. Richard T. Ely.....25

"Six Centuries of Work and

Wages."—By J. E. Thorold Rogers.....25

BROTHERHOOD SOCIALISM.

Danger of Sentiment, Unaided by Positive Knowledge, Pointed Out.

One of the most insidious fallacies that have to be combatted by Social-Democrats is a species of religious Socialism that emanates from the old Christian ideal of the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God, which is held by a certain section anxious to identify itself with the Socialist movement.

This belief abrogates physical force ideas, scorns economics, condemns representation, and places its faith for the redemption of mankind upon the improvement of the individual and heredity. This doctrine in another shape has been preached 1800 years, and has utterly and most miserably failed. Every stoic was a stoic, but in Christendom, where is the Christian? When we observe the passions that rage amongst the majority of Christians, their extreme pride, their mutual hatred of one another, their sordid love of gain and self-interest, it is palpably evident the golden rule, "Do to others," etc., is, under a capitalist regime, a hopeless absurdity. I will not say that under changed conditions of society such a practice is impossible, but as a means to change present conditions such a pious belief is ridiculous, and a cul-de-sac. It is of little avail to preach love and charity and trust to such sympathies becoming innate by heredity. If the society in which individuals are born is admittedly a ceaseless strife of competitive warfare, peace and goodwill is sung, and the natives of Africa are plundered of all they have and ruthlessly slaughtered if they object. Children who are taught kindness and humanity play with toy guns, and their education and amusements are full a reflex of the competitive community in which they live. They are taught to admire the successful business man, the millionaire, and smart strokes of business; and that the sole criterion of virtue is success. Everywhere are gain, selfishness, before ethics and morality, and it is a matter of comment that the most dastardly instances of "commercialism" are committed by men of professedly high moral character. The worst sweeter and tyrant is generally found to be the most devout churchman. This being so, the attempt to reform society by imparting moral tenets to the individual is like bailing water out of a butt into which an equal quantity of water is flowing. As fast as an advantage is gained on one side it is promptly lost on the other. A man may be full of altruistic notions, but if he is to avoid sinking he must quickly abandon his altruism and become just as grasping and hard as the average capitalist. Propagating altruism may not possibly do harm, but it is energy expended uselessly that could well be utilized in other and more profitable directions. An economic Socialist is not necessarily opposed to brotherhood ideas, in fact he is most often animated by high altruism. But he also recognizes the futility of vague, indefinite longings, or the casual influence of scenic and atmospheric conditions, and endeavors to understand the basis of modern conditions of life, analyses carefully the methods and effects of capitalist production, in order that he may be better equipped in his attacks on and criticisms of commercialism. Appealing to the sentimental sympathies of men will most likely rouse them to a degree of fervor and enthusiasm. The sand in the desert will take in heat rapidly; evening comes, and the heat that has been so quickly acquired, with equal rapidity departs, and intense cold results. So with sentimental Socialism. The enthusiasm so rapidly aroused, unless supported by a stern and definite materialism, will evaporate, and although not apparently so effective, the preaching of economic truths and consequent exposure of economic fallacies, proves in the end the wisest policy. The dogged efforts of a few conscious and enlightened economic Socialists are very much to be preferred to the work, however earnest, of a number of brotherly sympathetic Socialists. Thus it is clear that the cry ancient sectarian jealousy is without foundation, and it is evident that there is but little in common between economic Socialists and brotherly idealists, a radical difference of basic principles being involved, and while joint action between conscious Socialists on occasions is necessary and extremely desirable, any approach to unity between economic Socialists and sentimentalists pure and simple would in all probability be attended with endless internal bickerings and strife, and this would prove a worse evil than being denounced as sectarian bigots for combating altruistic ideas unsupported by stern materialism, as we are at present.—London "Justice." A. K.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

Jewish Section, Haverhill, Mass.—THE PEOPLE is owned and controlled by the S. L. P.; it is not owned and controlled by any other organization. The exact form of ownership of THE DAILY PEOPLE is not yet settled. The legal difficulties of the question arise from the fact that a daily Socialist paper, over which every party member has a legal right, would be exposed to capture at any moment by the capitalist government. Every such member being a partner, any one of them could go to Court and demand the appointment of a receiver. The Capitalist parties would not find it difficult to get someone of their secret heaters into the party somewhere or another, and he could pretend a grievance whenever it suited his masters; the Court that he would pick out would be only too ready to grant his request, nor would he want funds to carry on and protract his suit. In the very midst of a campaign our daily could be thus put into the enemy's hands—to say nothing of the ruinous expense to the party of such litigation. And the more powerful our daily would be, all the greater would be the danger of such a trick being played upon us. The question needs mature deliberation and calm judgment.

D. D. L. Minneapolis, Minn.—A good idea. Send them on. Local happenings that have a bearing on the movement are valuable.

C. L. Altoona, Pa.—We have no knowledge of the matter.

THE HEAVY LOSS

To Society from the Existence and Continuance of Capitalism.

The present per capita of the United States, as represented by the prices of goods upon the final market, is at least \$400. Peabody, the Boston architect, in his work entitled "Architecture Under Nationalism," has demonstrated from the most careful calculations that the waste of human effort in our competitive industrial system is fully 90 per cent., and that the elimination of competitive waste and the concentration and organization of industry, effected by the substitution of co-operation for competition, would multiply productively twentyfold. What does this mean? It means a per capita income of twenty times \$400, or \$8,000 a year. It means a gross national income greater than the present property value of the globe. It means the equivalent of \$40,000 for every man and woman engaged in productive labor. To the farm laborer, miner and factory worker it means A DOLLAR OR MORE FOR EVERY CENT RECEIVED TO-DAY. In place of dingy tenements, palace hotels will rise, palace homes more splendid than the Waldorf, which numbers royalty among its guests. Chaotic cities of brick and wood will give place to the most harmonious creations of inspired engineers and artists, and reproduce in the enduring marbles of Colorado all the glories of that transient wonder—the White City by the Lake.

With the establishment of Socialism not one individual in one or two thousand will suffer from loss of income. These isolated and exceptional individuals whose present income exceeds \$40,000, are filled with terror at the advance of Socialism. In the destruction of your private monopolies and vested interests they would find the extinction of civilization itself, and they affect to believe that the wildest Anarchy will accompany the triumph of the NE PLUS ULTRA philosophy of order. Yet, paradoxical as it may appear, these few people can well afford to drop \$10,000,000 a year for the seemingly paltry \$40,000 of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The intellectual inefficiency of the competitive system is almost incalculable. Thanks to inventive genius, more wealth has been produced in the present century than in all the previous history of the human race, and for every increase of individual productivity inventive genius is mainly responsible. And yet for every valuable idea that has seen the light of day a hundred or more have died in obscurity. Socialism would stimulate invention to a degree that imagination can hardly follow.

In the competitive system there are three factors which work for the suppression of ideas, and consequent retardation of progress.

1. The necessity of uncongenial toil for a bare existence.

2. Lack of means for conducting experiments.

3. Lack of individual energy from the fact that combinations of maximum imaginative and reasoning power, with maxima of volition, are quite as rare, in proportion, as double births.

In the Co-operative Commonwealth all these factors of retardation are bound to vanish.

1. Economic independence being guaranteed, the inventor will find himself released from that excessive manual labor for an existence that to-day forces him to uncongenial labor.

2. Experimental materials would certainly be furnished by the people, if not without limit, at least in proportion to the benefit conferred.

3. The inventor will be disposed to impart ideas to others, less capable perhaps of reflectiveness, but more capable of action, since the prospect of enriching selfish capitalists with the fruits of his genius will have been forever removed.

It has been estimated that while no more than one-third thousandth of the population of the United States is represented in the inventions recorded in the patent office, one man in every three is a born inventor. If the intellectual labor of one-third thousandth of the population has doubled individual productivity in the last twenty years, then at the same rate the intellectual labor of one-tenth of the population, secured by Socialism, should multiply individual productivity FIFTEEN TIMES IN A SINGLE YEAR. The time will come when the State will be compelled to reduce the hours of manual labor to such an extent that, even if it be not performed by the children, as among the Avila of Bulwer's "Coming Race," no citizen will need work for more than one year in his lifetime, and will find himself free to devote his existence to science and the arts.

If those who have prospered under competition are more than ordinarily fortunate in their investments and speculations, they may hope to see their \$10,000,000 income swell to \$11,000,000 in one year, and to upward of \$12,000,000 in two years, but the despised \$40,000 of the Socialist would grow to \$200,000,000 IN ONE YEAR AND TO \$6,000,000,000 IN TWO YEARS from the completion of industrial integration and organization. Yet I have made no account of the fact that Socialism would increase the experimental capital of the individual inventor from 40 TO 800 FOLD OR MORE.

Some are astonished at what science has accomplished in one hundred years of competition. In five or ten years of national or international co-operation science will accomplish infinitely more than it could accomplish in thousands of years of competition. What for the realization of possibilities already indicated? What for developments of the Röntgen ray? What for developments of psychical photography? The practical thought reader is quite as near as the practical photographer in 1877. What for developments of power?

Crookes has told us that the forces of the ether are incomparably greater than any subjected to man, and we have heard Tyndall remark that with the production of harmonic vibrations more rapid than light, possibly enough energy might be developed to divert the planets from their courses. Those who look to the steam engine and water wheel, do they know that in the smallest portion of space infinite forces lie dormant? What for developments of bio-

logical science? The search of medical alchemists for the secret of eternal youth has been reinaugurated by the more enlightened investigators of the present age, and to use the words of the novelist, F. Marion Crawford: "It would be rash to assert that bodily death may not some day, and under certain conditions, be altogether escaped. It is nonsense to pretend that human life may not possibly and before long be enormously prolonged, and that by some shorter cut to longevity than temperance and sanitation. No man can say that it will, but no man of average intelligence can now deny that it may."

In the competitive system true wealth, as represented by happiness, is rarely or never commensurate with the possession of goods and chattels; while, on the contrary, in the Co-operative Commonwealth, increase of income will have, as its correlative, a proportionate increase in the amount of pleasure enjoyed. This, in the light of the modern philosophy of ethics, is tantamount to saying that Socialism stands for a higher morality than any which has heretofore prevailed.

It signifies nothing that the moral obliquity of industrial competition is sanctified by the laws of our nation and the customs of our ancestors. The fruits of competitive success needs must be the legalized thefts of interest, rent, and profit. We are robbers of our brethren and worse. Doubtless it fills some with horror to learn that thousands of their fellow beings are cut off by individual assassination every year; but they seem not to be aware that they themselves participate in the destruction of millions. According to the world's greatest statistician, Dr. Engels, the great majority of all deaths are social. According to the world's greatest geographical writer, Elisee Reclus, ten millions die yearly in civilized lands alone who might have survived in a proper social system. Those who know this, and knowing, are satisfied with the "things that be" are more than guilty of manslaughter—they ARE ACCESSORY TO MURDER.

HERBERT M. MERRILL.

Plymouth, N. H.

12th ANNUAL REPORT.

Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of U. S. of A.

This admirable organization presents a report for 1896 that has more than passing interest.

In these days when many a trade union is losing its trade union character and is becoming an insurance society, the "Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund" points to an important moral. Trade organizations of workmen are based, whether the union men know it or not, upon the class struggle between Capital and Labor. When such organizations take up the insurance feature, they begin to give up the class struggle principle. The result is that they become useless in both. The insurance feature interferes with the necessary aggressive feature of the class struggle; and the aggressive feature of the class struggle weakens the benefit that can be derived from the insurance feature. As each feature injures the other, the union suffers and goes down. The bankruptcy of unions that are saddled with the insurance feature is notorious; unable to give protection both against capitalist encroachment and accidents, their members dwindle away, and what is more such organizations lose caste and virtually become a prop to capitalism. The insurance and the labor feature do not go together.

The history of the "Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund," its progress and its straight and proletarian character illustrate all this.

The "Fund" is exclusively beneficial. Since 1885 it grew from 116 to 13,262 members in 1896, of which nearly 3,000 members were gained during that year; and during its existence it has paid out \$100,741.55 in death benefits, and \$408,597.07 in sick benefits.

How well this organization understands its mission and the fact that palliatives can do good only in proportion as they are known to be palliatives and in proportion as the main cause of suffering is held in mind, and its abolition is aimed at, will appear from the following remarks:

"When we give our close attention to the sick benefit statistics we find, thanks to our system of society, which is based on exploitation of mankind by mankind, that again the expenditures for such sicknesses, which we properly call 'Proletarian diseases,' have greatly increased. Herewith comes into consideration: Injuries, diseases of the Respiratory Organs, Burns, Lead Colic, and the effects of Over Work, for which \$42,121.25 were expended, or 43 per cent. of the whole sum paid for sick benefits, where in former years but 41½ per cent. was used for this purpose."

"But the deaths which are caused by the miserable social conditions of the present time seem to increase in a shocking manner, for of the 110 deceased members twenty-five were sacrificed through consumption and twenty-three more through violent death of which eleven committed suicide, making exactly one-tenth of the total deaths. Our present age is frequently called the age of steam or electricity, but in the face of such figures we may as well say: It is the age of suicide."

"Members, Fellow-workers! You can change these conditions if you are willing. You need only organize politically as well as economically and let your motto be: 'We will elect only workmen who have acknowledged their class condition, as representatives in the law-making bodies, the executive offices of the government, or as judges; so as to secure and enforce better laws for the protection of life and limb of the workers, and to prepare and fight for the Emancipation of Labor from the claws of Capitalism. The Executive: Henry Stahl, Financial Secretary, 25 & 27 Third Ave., Room 53, N. Y. City."

For an Italian Paper.

All Comrades and sympathizers who realize the importance of upholding a Socialist paper in the Italian language in this country are requested to send contributions and subscriptions to Comrade C. F. Garzone, 14 Varick place, New York City. Send at least a nickel. "Il Proletario" needs assistance. To discontinue its valuable work would be a serious setback to the movement among the Italian wage earners.

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

National Executive.

Regular meeting held March 2, 1897: Comrade Malkiel in the chair; absent, Reed.

The minutes of the previous meeting read and approved.

Financial report for weeks Nov. 21, 1896, to Feb. 20, 1897, inclusive:

INCOME.	
Nov. 21, 1896.....	\$189 25
Nov. 28, 1896.....	123 00
Dec. 5, 1896.....	85 59
Dec. 12, 1896.....	41 81
Dec. 19, 1896.....	45 95
Dec. 26, 1896.....	137 89
Jan. 2, 1897.....	48 23
Jan. 9, 1897.....	86 99
Jan. 16, 1897.....	40 25
Jan. 23, 1897.....	87 00
Jan. 30, 1897.....	177 75
Feb. 6, 1897.....	10 68
Feb. 13, 1897.....	76 38
Feb. 20, 1897.....	116 85

Total.....\$1,264 72

EXPENSES.	
Nov. 21, 1896.....	\$32 11
Nov. 28, 1896.....	26 26
Dec. 5, 1896.....	26 21
Dec. 12, 1896.....	68 45
Dec. 19, 1896.....	26 89
Dec. 26, 1896.....	41 26
Jan. 2, 1897.....	26 81
Jan. 9, 1897.....	82 88
Jan. 16, 1897.....	31 19
Jan. 23, 1897.....	25 62
Jan. 30, 1897.....	99 65
Feb. 6, 1897.....	107 22
Feb. 13, 1897.....	21 81
Feb. 20, 1897.....	51 00

Total.....\$667 36

The committee then adjourned sine die.

CHAS. B. COPP, Rec. Secy.

First meeting of the new National Executive Committee held March 2, 1897: present, Comrades Seubert, Moore, Matchett, Stahl, Malkiel and Copp; absent, Furman, excused.

Comrade Malkiel in the chair; Comrade Copp elected recording secretary; Comrade Stahl, treasurer.

Secretary authorized to instruct DAILY PEOPLE Committee to forward full report as to finances, plans, etc., to this committee.

Resolved that headquarters at 184 William street be maintained at the present rent, and that the meetings of this committee be held there.

Comrades Vogt, Sanial, Matchett, Maguire and De Leon appointed as the Municipal Committee of the S. L. P., as authorized by the National Convention of 1896, for the elaboration of a general programme of municipal reforms.

Herman Ackermann reported expelled by Section Batavia; and John Dunlop by Section Toronto, Canada.

Charter granted new Section at Newburyport, Mass.

CHAS. B. COPP, Rec. Secy.

Massachusetts.

To Massachusetts Sections S. L. P.:

The following is the vote on propositions submitted by the Boston Am. Sec.: Vote on proposition for employing some member for one year's continuous service. Yes, 82 votes; No, 144 votes.

Vote to make such member employed secretary of S. C. C. Sec., marked (B). Yes, 35 votes; No, 103 votes.

Worcester amendment to strike out section marked (B). Yes, 80 votes; No, 99 votes.

Amendment to lay over to next State Convention. Yes, 160 votes; No, 69 votes.

